

A Work Project, presented as part of the requirements for the Award of a Master Degree in Management from the NOVA – School of Business and Economics.

**Is presenteeism less prevalent among public sector employees than private sector employees?**

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## **Abstract**

Presenteeism is a relatively new concept meaning working while sick. It is though to account for a large amount of productivity loss due to illness. Presenteeism's body of literature is reviewed. This paper focuses on differences between public and private organizations, and between men and women. Survey data (n=235) was collected from the region of Ferrol, Spain. Evidence is found to suggest that private sector workers, but not public workers, come to work ill because they fear being fired for being absent. Connections are made with the economic climate. Ideas for future research are proposed and expanded upon.

Keywords: presenteeism, private and public organizations, men and women, productivity

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## **Introduction**

In western economies, services have surpassed manufacturing as the main source of employment. Where manufacturing has a clear measure for gauging employee productivity (output), jobs in the new economy can be much more difficult to observe. Traditionally, absenteeism has been of great concern to employers. If a worker does not come to work, their productivity is zero. Consistent absence means workers are consistently unproductive and can often be tied to more serious underlying problems such as psychological issues, low morale, or other workplace conditions.

In the modern economy, absenteeism continues to be a challenge for human resource management, but a new and growing body of literature has recognized that there can be other drains on workplace productivity that are not accounted for in a conventional attendance statistic. Workers can come every day to work, but still have their work suffer. They can, intentionally or unintentionally, have the quality of their work decline, requiring tasks to be redone or addressed by other workers.

Some jobs require coordination with a team or interaction with customers. If the quality of interpersonal communication is depressed for a time, those tasks too will see reduced productivity. Because these sources of diminished productivity are hard to measure and detect, they can go unaddressed for months or years. These phenomena are best described by presenteeism.

Presenteeism, or sickness presence, can generally be defined as working when sick. It is not, as the terminology suggests, the polar opposite of absenteeism (though the two are related). It describes how working with illness can result in diminished productivity, burnout, cynicism, and can worsen workers health in the long term. The reasons workers work while sick range from feeling indispensable to their employer or

wanting to prevent losing pace with their workload, to fearing sick days statistics will be incorporated into layoff decisions, or losing income from additional days missed.

This problem has gotten some mainstream attention in the media, being highlighted in articles from Forbes, The Guardian, The British Broadcasting Corporation, and The Harvard Business Review. Managers and firms are now increasingly aware of the threat presenteeism can pose to their organizations' productivity. Some are taking steps to prevent a health event from becoming an ongoing problem and adjusting absentee policy to account for illness on the job. In the United States, where many firms pay for employee health care or provide it outright, the calculus of balancing productivity and employee health, structuring absentee policy, and recognizing when alternative measures may be beneficial is even more complicated, should be reviewed in light of the literature on presenteeism.

Public and private employment are often considered vastly different in terms of employee motivation, prestige, job security, compensation, benefits, and worker attributes (educational attainment, work experience, etc.). In many countries, certain occupations, such as medical doctor or school teacher, are overwhelmingly employed in the public sector. Often public organizations are regulated by entirely different rules than the private sector (incentives, health and safety regulation, and pensions). It should follow that there is a difference in measurable presenteeism between these two sectors. This study seeks to find further evidence of a difference in presenteeism between the public and private sectors.

Hypothesis 1: Presenteeism is greater in the private sector than in the public sector.

Hypothesis 2: Women work while sick more often than men.

## **Literature Review**

While the academic literature on presenteeism is relatively young, in the last twenty years there has been a lot of research done on the topic by authors from a range of disciplines and backgrounds. This contributes to the multiple distinct, but related definitions for presenteeism. Johns, (2010) catalogues ten different presenteeism definitions in the literature, including simply attending work (Smith, 1970) exhibiting excellent attendance (Canfield, G. W., & Soash, 1955; Worrall, L., Cooper, C., & Campbell, 2000), going to work despite feeling unhealthy (Aronsson, G., Gustafsson, K., & Dallner, 2000; Dew, K., Keefe, V., & Small, 2005), and reduced productivity at work due to health problems or other events that distract from ones full productivity (Hummer, J., Sherman, B., & Quinn, 2002; Whitehouse, 2005). This variance in definition in the literature is partially due to presenteeism as a topic having two main sources of research. The first originates from the United States and studies the impact of presenteeism on workplace productivity and the second, from Europe, focuses on it as a reaction by workers to a lack of job security, due to fear of termination.

Johns, (2010) later presents a framework for future literature illustrating how a health event can, depending on the context (job demands, job security, reward system, absence policy, absence culture, and ease of replacement) and the person (work attitudes, personality, perceived justice, stress, perceived absence legitimacy) result in presenteeism, absenteeism, or both in succession, leading to future consequences to productivity or health. In essence, he attempts to bridge the two bodies of literature into one unified theory and tie presenteeism to absenteeism.

This explains how, for example, a worker can have a migraine, go to work despite strong discomfort, sensitivity to light and sound, then later have an extended period of absenteeism due to his migraines being exacerbated by the initial episode. It

also explains how the opposite set of events can transpire. A worker can have a health episode, choose to take sick days, get better, and then come back to work at full productivity. It also models how an individual can internalize employer policy during a health event, then regard their employer either positively or negatively due to feeling treated fairly or unfairly, thus influencing their behavior (presenteeism or absenteeism) in the future.

Johns, (2010) documents three main causes of presenteeism: organizational policies, job design, and presentee culture. Organizational policies include pay, sick pay, attendance control, downsizing, and permanency of employment. People with higher income and education tend to attend work ill more often than lower paid and less educated workers. Job design includes job demands, adjustment latitude, ease of replacement, and teamwork. Workers may feel they need to come to work everyday if they are easily replaced.

Finally, presentee culture describes how some occupations, such as doctors, nurses, school teachers, and home nursing aides show higher levels of presenteeism than other professions, even when taking into account other characteristics, such as age, sex, and education. Some organizations may see worker try to compete with each other by showing up to work ill.

The illnesses most linked with presenteeism in the literature are allergies, arthritis, acid reflux disease, asthma, diabetes, migraines, and irritable bowel syndrome (Koopman, C., Pelletier, K. R., Murray, J. F., Sharda, C. E., Berger, M. L., Turpin, R. S., 2002). Mental illness such as depression and anxiety are also featured in the literature as well as contagious diseases like gastroenteritis. A response among firms is to make medications and treatments cheaper (by lowering the required copay) and making employee counseling and screening available. Another response is providing

ergonomic chairs, tables, and computer peripherals (keyboards and mice) to make workers suffering from conditions such as arthritis more comfortable and relatively pain free. These solutions increase costs, therefore monitoring for an increase in productivity, and decrease in absenteeism and presenteeism is necessary to prevent over-investment in health care.

Presenteeism is generally measured in two ways. The first is the occurrences of coming to work while suffering from an illness and the second the loss in productivity to the company. Surveys generally use the Stanford Presenteeism Scale (Koopman et al. 2002) which uses a series of questions to determine an employee's self-reported difficulty working while ill.

Loeppke R, Taitel M, Hau e V, Parry T, Kessler RC, (2009) describe the total cost of poor health to employers as the sum of health care costs, including medical treatment and pharmaceuticals, and the loss in productivity, which includes absenteeism, presenteeism, overtime, temporary workers, and slow work. Effective changes to health care can decrease sickness presence costs on an organization.

There have been few papers on presenteeism in public and private organizations, like Aristides I. Ferreira & Luis F. Martinez, ( 2012). These papers, however, do not look at the phenomenon in isolation. They often examine one specific group or profession, such as school teachers, or don't study presenteeism. A paper by Bergström, G., Bodin, L., Hagberg, J., Lindh, T., Aronsson, G., & Josephson, (2009) studies presenteeism between public and private organizations, but compares an overwhelmingly female sample against a majority male sample and comes to the conclusion that private organizations have more presenteeism. Female employees tend to have more sickness presence.



Bergström et al., (2009) adjust for individual characteristics, but the two groups are extremely different. Women tend to have much higher rates of working while sick than men (Aronsson, G., & Gustafsson, 2005) and absenteeism (Coté, D., & Haccoun, 1991). Aronsson, G., & Gustafsson, (2005) also find that women tend to take jobs that have high levels of presenteeism, like school teacher and nurse. These same professions tend to be employed in public organizations in some countries.

## **Method**

A questionnaire was developed to study the difference in presenteeism between public and private sector employees. It consisted of a twenty one question survey completely in Spanish, in which three main types of questions were developed. The first to determine the basic demographics of the participants, namely age, gender, public or private employment, years working for employer, and level of educational attainment. The second to determine participants' attitude towards their employer and their feelings towards their work. The last category of questions asked about their presenteeism on the job. Some questions are yes or no questions, while most are multiple choice, and a few are statements participants can agree or disagree with on a sliding scale.

The web survey was conducted in the region of Ferrolterra, an area with a population of 159,422 people (Google Census 2014) in northwestern Spain. Within this region is a large shipyard that provides many public sector jobs, though services and agriculture are also prevalent. Ferrolterra region consists of Ferrol, Ares, Fene, Mugardos, Naron and Neda. These towns are small in size but have relatively high population density.

The region for more than 300 years has been employed by the naval sector. Astano (a civilian shipyard with 6750 employees, opened 1970), Bazan (a military

shipyard with more than 4,000 employees, opened 1990) and all ancillary sector companies employed 80% of the workers in the region. All people of this region have family, know someone, or even themselves work in the shipyards. With the recent economic crisis, both ship yards were eventually bought by the government of Spain. The area has many small businesses and industrial giants such as Inditex, which owns Pull & Bear, Logistica, and Carrefour.

There are fewer new large firms in the area nowadays. Companies like Poligal have had workforce downsizing while others have suffered bankruptcy. The survey was active for three weeks between April 17, 2016 and May 8, 2016. In that time, there were 235 responses and a sample size of 235 ( $n=235$ ). It was conducted using the typeforme platform and distributed through email, WhatsApp, Facebook, and “on the street” completion of surveys. Assurances were made to participants that their information would be kept confidential and anonymous.

Participants were sent a link to the survey or handed a mobile device with the survey preloaded. Thirty eight responses were made by personal computer, 196 by smartphone, and one by tablet, while average response time was three minutes and 36 seconds. Of the 235 respondents, 114 were women, 103 were men, and 18 declined to answer, while 112 were employed in the public sector and 123 worked in the private sector.

## **Questions and Measures**

The variables of interest to this study are whether participants are employed in the public or private sector and their gender, and what differences in characteristics there are in terms of sickness presence and other factors that may cause presenteeism.

## Work and Employer

Questions about the participants work and employer were design to elicit basic information about where participants work and how they feel about their work. The survey asks weather participants are employed part time or full time, with no comment as a third choice. Participants are asked if they work for a private company or a public organization and how long they have worked for their company, with answers for between 1 and 6 months, between 6 months and 1 year, between 1 and 5 years, and over 5 years. They are asked if they like their work and given the options of yes, no, and no comment. Next the survey asks if participants work on Sundays, Saturdays, and holidays and if they work unpaid overtime. The final few work and employer related responses are comments on workplace satisfaction. Participants can strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, and strongly disagree. These include: I get a good salary from my job, I am happy in my work, my work give me opportunity for promotion, and my job offers me opportunities to learn and grow as a person.

## *Presenteeism*

Presenteeism questions ask respondents about different dimensions of their sickness presence. The questions are rooted in information from previous literature. The first question asked if respondents have ever gone to work sick. Another asks how many times they have been sick in the last year, with options for none, one to three times, and more than three times. Then the survey asks if participants have ever gone to work sick, if they have, think their performance is lower when they go to work sick, and if they think they could get their coworkers sick on the job. The final two questions ask if they have allergies, and why did the respondent choose to go to work sick, with answers including: I was not too sick to work, I will have money deducted from my salary, for fear of being fired, I'm too valuable to the company, and no comment.

## *Demographic*

Demographic questions asked include gender, age, and level of educational attainment. Gender has three options: man, woman, or other. Age has answers in brackets of ten years starting at age 18. Its choices are under 18, between 18 and 25, between 26 and 35, between 36 and 45, between 46 and 55, between 55 and 65, and retired. The retirement age in Spain is 65. Educational attainment's choices are divided into primary school, some high school, vocational school (did not complete high school), high school diploma, vocational school (high school diploma), some university, bachelor's degree, graduate/professional degree (master's, Ph.D.), and do not know / no comment.

## **Results**

People who went to work sick in the last year in the private sector are likely getting their first jobs, because they are between 26 and 35 years of age (table 5). The next biggest group that goes to work sick is of people between 46 and 55, although in the public sector the average is older. The biggest group that goes to work sick is between age 46 and 65. These people have been working for more than 5 years in the company (table 9). Half of the people in the private sector that go to work sick also work overtime (table 2), but almost all respondents realize that they have lower performance if they go to work sick (table 1). Not even half of the people asked have allergies that affect their work (table 6). More women than men go to work sick in general (61 vs 38). This changes if divided by private or public sector (table 3).

Private sector women most go to work sick, at almost double the rate that men do, but in the private sector men are who mostly go to work sick. Women are more worried than men in missing work when sick. In the private sector, they do not give

enough importance to being sick or they are worried about getting fired. On the other hand, we can see in the public sector sample that after worrying about getting fired, they worry money will be deducted from their salary if they do not go to work sick (table 7).

People who have gone to work sick in the last year are happy with their jobs (table 4). We can see that people know they have lower performance if they go to work sick, but in the private sector they tend think that sickness is not important compared to being fired for absenteeism. It might be that the people who work for these companies might have their first jobs, judging from their age bracket (table 9). The economy isn't helping them to establish jobs where they do not have to worry about being fired. In the public sector, the average is older, which may mean they have been working for a longer time and with a lower perceived chance to be fired. Participants' worry changes to how much their employer deducts from their salary if they do not go to work. In both cases, the economic crisis impacts on their actions of all employees, both public and private.

## **Discussion**

Just over 68% of people claim to have been sick at work in the past year as seen in Table 1. As in Aronsson, G., Gustafsson, K., & Dallner, (2000) most said they go to work despite feeling unhealthy. In Table 1, almost all surveyed are aware that their productivity decreases without going to work sick as Hummer et al., (2002) reduced productivity at work for health reasons or other events that distract from their overall productivity. Making a division between the public and private sector, there are small differences with regard to why people go to work sick. In the private sector the participants place importance on the thought of being dismissed and believe that their illness is not serious enough to stay home.

As previously referenced in the European studies by Hummer et al., (2002) and Whitehouse, (2005) that presenteeism is produced as a reaction of workers to the lack of job security due to the fear of termination. On the other hand in the public sector wage deductions for absenteeism returns to witness how respondents appear not give much importance to disease because of this. Johns, (2010) documented that job security and ease of replacement were likely related to presenteeism. With the economic crisis of 2008 marking jobs both public and private (as reflected in Table 8 in the unemployment rate, 17.7%) People are more prone to presenteeism and especially in the private sector where participants also work hours unpaid overtime (table 2).

Among most presenteeism related diseases in the literature we highlight allergies (Koopman et al., 2002). Because of this, the survey asked how many people had gone to work sick in the past year had allergies, and as reflected in table 6, this phenomenon is quite common as nearly half of respondents who went to work sick in the past year say they have had allergies. Finally, in (Bergström et al., 2009) presenteeism between public and private organizations is studied. Concluding that the latter displayed more presenteeism. Between men and women, women are more likely to go to work sick. In our study we get a glimpse of both the public and private sectors have a high rate of labor presenteeism albeit for different reasons. If this is true, as Bergström et al., (2009) notes there is more presenteeism by women (in the public sector men report more presenteeism than women). In the private sector, the fear of being replaced as (Johns, 2010) reports, causes a higher rate of presenteeism. However, in the public sector deducted salary is one of the major concerns for participants.

### *Research Limitations*

This survey was not conducted with the literature standard for presenteeism measurement, Stanford Presenteeism Scale (SPS-6). Because of this, it is not readily

comparable to most of the literature on sickness presence and its results cannot be easily compared with those of other studies. Also, while there is some study of the difference in presenteeism between public and private organizations, there is less information in the literature than is ideal. A public database of survey data was also not available to compare other survey data to the results of this study.

## **Conclusion**

Three fundamental conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, it appears that the economic crisis continues to play an important role in the job performance of individuals. Despite the unemployment rate having fallen by nearly three points in the last year, the lack of work in the naval sector which contributes more than 6,000 direct jobs to the area and all indirect auxiliary companies, means that there is a palpable insecurity in the Spanish economy. Both the public and the private sectors fear of wage reduction (or even dismissal) make being present at work important because of a perceived lack of job security. Participants understood they are less productive for the company if they go to work without being healthy, but still decided to go to work despite ill health.

Second, it appears that people are happy in their work in the private sector. In the region of Ferrol, it appears that the public sector starts to be significant in the study starting at age 26. Part of this sample has been working less than 5 years and for many it will likely be their first job. This is also creating greater job insecurity than in the public sector, where overtime is unpaid and workers have been working for more than 5 years. Third, we can see that women have a higher rate of presenteeism than men and that the majority of workers also have allergies.

### ***Suggestions for Future Research***

Because fear of being fired is much more a concern for private sector workers, it would be a good addition to the literature if future research studied presenteeism from an economic perspective. Further research could study if presenteeism is pro-cyclical with macroeconomic trends. Does the occurrence of presenteeism increase in recessions and depressions? Do large firms or small firms have more presenteeism? What industries have a tendency towards high presenteeism?



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## Appendixes

### Appendix 1: Survey

1. ¿Trabajas a tiempo parcial o a tiempo completo?

Tiempo completo

Tiempo parcial

NS/NC

2. ¿Trabajas para el sector público o privado?

Privado

Público

3. ¿Cuánto tiempo llevas trabajando para esta compañía?

Mas de 5 años

Entre 6 meses y 1 año

Entre 1 año y 5 años

Entre 1 y 6 meses

4. ¿Te gusta el trabajo que realizas?

Si

No

NS/NC

5. ¿Trabajas sábados, domingos o festivos? (Marca todas las respuestas correctas.)

Ninguna de las anteriores

Festivos

Sábados

Domingos

6. ¿Trabajas horas extra sin remuneración?

No

Si

NS/NC

En las siguientes afirmaciones, ¿estás de acuerdo o en desacuerdo?

0	1	2	3	4	5
Nada de acuerdo			Completamente		

7. Puedo perder mi trabajo en los próximos 6 meses

8. Recibo un buen sueldo por mi trabajo

9. Estoy content@ en mi trabajo

10. Mi trabajo me ofrece posibilidades de ascender.

11. Mi trabajo me ofrece oportunidades de aprender y prosperar.

12. ¿Cuántas veces has estado enferm@ en el último año?

Entre 1 y 3

Ninguna

Más de tres

13. ¿Has ido alguna vez a trabajar enferm@?

Si

No

NS/NC

14. ¿Has ido a trabajar enferm@ en el último año?

Si

No

NS/NC

15. ¿Crees que tu rendimiento baja si vas a trabajar enferm@?

Si

No

NS/NC

16. ¿Crees que en alguna ocasión has podido contagiar a tus compañeros?

Si

No

NS/NC

17. ¿Tienes alergias?

Si

No

NS/NC

18. ¿Por qué has ido a trabajar enfermo?

Porque no estaba tan enfermo

Por miedo a ser despedido

NS/NC

Porque soy una mayor valía para la compañía

Me lo descuentan del sueldo

Porque no tengo nadie que me sustituya

19. ¿Con quién te identificas?

Mujer

Hombre

Otro

20. ¿Qué edad tienes?

Menos de 18

Entre 26 y 35

Entre 46 y 55

Retirado

Entre 18 y 25

Entre 35 y 45

Entre 56 y 65

21. Y con esto terminamos. ¿Qué estudios tienes?

Primaria	Bachiller	Carrera universitaria
Ciclo medio	Ciclo superior	Master/Doctorado
Secundaria	No terminé la carrera	NS/NC

Appendix 2: Tables

In all the tables in the column the question is Do you work for the private or public sector?.

Table 1

	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?								
	Yes			No			No comment (NC)		
	Do you think your performance is lower if you go to work sick?			Do you think your performance is lower if you go to work sick?			Do you think your performance is lower if you go to work sick?		
	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC
Private	97	7	0	16	1	1	1	0	0
Public	63	8	4	24	5	1	7	0	0

Table 2

	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?								
	Yes			No			No comment (NC)		
	Do you work unpaid overtime?			Do you work unpaid overtime?			Do you work unpaid overtime?		
	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC
Private	51	50	3	6	12	0	0	1	0
Public	9	62	4	4	26	0	1	4	2

Table 3

	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?								
	Yes			No			No comment		
	Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?		
	Woman	Men	Other	Woman	Men	Other	Woman	Men	Other
Private	61	38	5	8	8	2	1	0	0
Public	25	40	10	15	14	1	4	3	0

Table 4

	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?								
	Yes			No			No comment(NC)		
	Do you do like your work?			Do you do like your work?			Do you do like your work?		
	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC
Private	77	19	8	14	4	0	1	0	0
Public	60	8	7	26	3	1	5	0	2

Table 5

Table 5.1	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?						
	Yes						
	How old are you?						
	Less than 18	Between 18 to 25	Between 26 and 35	Between 36 and 45	Between 46 and 55	Between 56 and 65	Retired
Private	0	5	44	0	22	15	0
Public	0	3	9	0	20	22	0

Table 5.2	No						
	How old are you?						
	Less than 18	Between 18 to 25	Between 26 and 35	Between 36 and 45	Between 46 and 55	Between 56 and 65	Retired
	Less than 18	Between 18 to 25	Between 26 and 35	Between 36 and 45	Between 46 and 55	Between 56 and 65	Retired
Private	0	5	9	0	1	0	0
Public	0	2	8	0	8	5	0

Table 5.3	No comment						
	How old are you?						
	Less than 18	Between 18 to 25	Between 26 and 35	Between 36 and 45	Between 46 and 55	Between 56 and 65	Retired
	Less than 18	Between 18 to 25	Between 26 and 35	Between 36 and 45	Between 46 and 55	Between 56 and 65	Retired
Private	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Public	0	0	0	0	3	0	0

Table 6

	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?								
	Yes			No			No comment (NC)		
	Do you have allergies?			Do you have allergies?			Do you have allergies?		
	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC
	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC	Yes	No	NC
Private	42	62	0	8	10	0	1	0	0
Public	45	30	0	5	25	0	4	3	0

Table 7

	Why did you go to work sick?																	
	Do not know/ no comment			Because I was not so sick			I deducted the salary			For fear of being fired			Because I don't have anyone to substitute me			Because I'm worth more to the company		
	Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?			Who do you identify with?		
	W	M	O	W	M	O	W	M	O	W	M	O	W	M	O	W	M	O
Private	11	14	1	22	13	1	11	4	0	17	7	4	6	4	0	3	4	1
Public	10	13	5	14	25	4	13	13	1	1	0	1	3	2	0	3	4	0

In The table the following letters means: W (Women), M (Men), O (Other).

Table 8

#### Galicia: EPA (Working Population Survei)

	2015	2014
Unemployment rate	17,70%	20,90%
Unemployment rate men	17,00%	20,80%
Unemployment rate women	18,60%	21,00%
Less 25	42,50%	50,00%
Men less 25	42,10%	48,20%
Women less 25	42,90%	52,10%
More 25	16,50%	19,40%
Men more 25	15,70%	19,30%
Women more 25	17,40%	19,40%
Less 20	54,70%	69,20%
Men less 20	51,50%	66,30%
Women less 20	58,70%	73,40%
Between 20 and 24	40,80%	47,40%
Men Between 20 and 24	40,80%	45,50%
Women Between 20 and 24	40,90%	49,50%
Between 20 and 54	17,10%	20,40%
Men Between 20 and 54	15,70%	20,10%
Women Between 20 and 54	18,60%	20,70%
More 55	13,60%	14,20%
Men more 55	15,50%	15,20%
Women more 55	11,40%	12,90%

Table 9

	Have you gone to work sick in the last year?											
	Yes				No				No comment			
	How long have you been working for this company?				How long have you been working for this company?				How long have you been working for this company?			
	1 to 6 mo.	6 mo. to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Over 5 years	1 to 6 mo.	6 mo. to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Over 5 years	1 to 6 mo.	6 mo. to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Over 5 years
Private	10	14	33	47	4	7	4	3	0	0	0	1
Public	3	2	18	52	4	1	5	20	0	1	2	4